1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[300]

301 The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness
531 and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[301]

304 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer
171 perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[302] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[303] the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[304]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

304 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but some-
177 what more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

● 386 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with
828 powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú
517 root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[300] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[301] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[302] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:819.
[303] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[304] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pų; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, *m*). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajára: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukrãčą' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before daybreak on one occasion, I met my hąpínpey, Čątú, who was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for *any* purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.[28]

As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

[28] Nimuendajú, The Social Structure, 52.

302 are blamed if he should go about unpainted for a considerable period. "So-and-so's sister," gossips will say, "does not look out a bit for her brother! Just look! He has not a particle of urucú on his body!"

Since the preparation of urucú reddens one's hands in any case, the coarser ornamentation on the body is executed with the fingers and palms, little rods being [413] reserved for the fine red lines of the face paint. Stamps and painting-forks are never used in this connection.

These devices are employed however with the black rubber pigment, which is ● 386 prepared from the latex of a low steppe tree (*Sapium* sp.). A branch is generally 302 hacked off and barked at home. The juice (arą'mhõk) oozing out of the bast is gathered into a gourd bowl, where it may be immediately mixed with powdered charcoal. Alternatively, the pure latex may be painted on the surface, the powder being rubbed in subsequently. Paint of this type often remains visible for a week, and one rarely sees a Timbira without at least some traces of it. Fróes Abreu[xxx] has described this pigment, whereas Snethlage ignores it, obviously taking all black paint to be genipa.

Genipa, though used very rarely, is obligatory at certain ceremonies. The apple-like fruits of the genipa tree (porti; *Genipa americana*) are gathered and bisected, then the halves are put into the fire with the plane of bisection on top. As soon as they are heated, one crushes the core with a little rod so that the juice accumulates in the rind, and applies it with a little cotton at the end of a stick. At first the effect remains colorless, but after a few hours the paint turns blackish blue, persisting for over two weeks on unexposed skin. Snethlage mistakenly reports that the stem of the shrub provides the pigment and that there is an admixture of a fine oil.[xxxi]

Only on a single occasion—the terminal solemnity of the final initiation phase—have I been able to observe the use of the yellow pigment derived from the urucú root for bodily decoration. On the other hand, it is applied more than others to the ornamentation of pouches and mats of burity bast.

531 The ceremonial combs and the cotton wristlets of the girl associates, as well as 301 the anterior surfaces of earplugs, are colored with white clay. The latter have black and red designs on the white background. White clay I have seen applied [302] as body paint only at the ceremony after the return of a girls' collecting expedition into the steppe and at the hõčwa celebration (p. 63).

302 The black rubber and the red urucú paint are applied in everyday life, either each by itself for a complete coating or in combination; but complex designs are only executed on special occasions. The ordinary painting is that described by Snethlage: on the front and the back of the body, on the right and the left side, there is a broad vertical stripe in black, with a red one in the middle. The hands and feet are never painted black, but invariably red. The face paint usually comprises vertical red strokes across the forehead, bridge of the nose, mouth, and chin; [886] or across the forehead, eyes, and cheeks; likewise horizontal lines at the corners of the eyes and mouth. The older men do not paint at all after the day of their last [856] log race, nor do old women decorate themselves in this way. Little children are most frequently painted black all over, a procedure supposed to promote their growth.

413 The Canella painting outfit is comparatively multiform (pl. 14). In addition to 302 the above-mentioned little rods and the brushes made of a cotton wad on a stick,
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[xxx] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras. 183.
[xxxi] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 149.

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415 No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell
[824] of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of
824] a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal

[171] 1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

[113]

horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[237] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouth-
386] piece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is in-
[531] serted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig. 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./

301 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé),
824 to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 No. 8. Dye sample (pú), urucú kneaded together with clay.
302 Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather deco-
[237] ration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief,
[114] which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to

/51 cont./

535 mark the dance rhythm at festivals by being beaten together. (Fig. 2, 11.)

534 No. 10. Small decorated musical instrument (gukon-grúte), a kind of signal whistle made from a gourd (Cuyen/ shell, with a blowhole and two tone holes. (Fig. 2, 8.)

No. 11. A similar instrument, decorated with beads and small feathers. (Fig. 2, 4.)

301 No. 12. Neck ornament (hakró) made of cotton threads [283] (roretsí); in addition to animal claws, a small gourd whistle [237] (gukon-krúte). [534]

301 306 482 534 535

Fig. 2.

(gukon-krúte). (Fig. 2, 3.)

301 304 No. 13. Ear ornament (2) (kūi), consisting of black-red

[824] 2. According to Etienne Ignace, made out of the hard wood of the "Pau santo" /Zygophyllaceae/ or "Acupu."

wooden rings, 2.5 centimeters thick, 8 centimeters in diameter, and 26.5 centimeters in circumference, which are worn in the